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ABSTRACT

On the assumption that the mass media, to some degree, shape their users' thoughts about the nature of the world, this paper explores the development of a framework for studying television-influenced social reality--the controversial television-viewing-and-aggression hypothesis known as cultivation theory, as well as recent cultivation theory studies, and directions for future research into the cultivation effect. The first section of the paper provides the definition of social reality in the context of mass communication, and discusses the historical cleavage between the European and American traditions of research on knowledge, culture, and communication as addressed by several researchers. The second section concentrates on G. Gerbner's concept of cultivation theory, in which he argues that the discrepancy between television content and the "real world" results in two sources of dissimilar information about the nature of the world--whichever body of information guides an individual's orientation to the world depends on the amount of television to which that person has been exposed. Recent research in cultivation studies is also reviewed extensively in this portion of the paper. The last section considers relevant areas for future research, and how the rapid advancement of technological resources (especially the proliferation of cable TV and video recorders) has complicated the measurement--and therefore the effects--of television viewing. (A figure, a table of data, and 46 footnotes are included.) (NKA)

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Current Research on Television-Influenced
Constructions of Social Reality

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The study of television-influenced perceptions of the nature
of society is discussed both in the larger context of social
reality and more specifically as one type of media effect known
as "cultivation." After tracing the development of cultivation
theory, recent empirical research on this topic is reviewed.
Unlike most earlier cultivation analyses, several of these recent
studies have posited processes and mechanisms aimed at explaining
how cultivation occurs. The paper concludes by discussing some
of the implications of technological development with regard to
(1) the basic assumptions of cultivation theory and (2)
measurement of television viewing in the "video age."

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assistant professor of communication at Purdue University. This
paper is based on part of his doctoral dissertation.

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Current Research on Television-Influenced Constructions of Social Reality

One would be hard pressed to come up with a good argument against the contention that much of what we know about the world comes to us from mass media. But the media do more than convey information or bring entertainment from places beyond the limits of our perceptions. To some degree, they shape what we think about the nature of the world. In other words, they influence our constructions of social reality.

The effect of mass communication on individuals' cognitions, emotions, and behaviors has been treated as a social problem for the better part of this century. Multidisciplinary concern has focused on comic books, movies, radio, newspapers, and especially television. Powerful effects have been the accepted wisdom at times, weak effects at other times.

Probably no media-effects theory has received more research attention than the television-viewing-and-aggression hypothesis, especially with regard to the child viewer. And few media-effects theories have been more controversial than the major reformulation of the television-viewing-and-aggression hypothesis known as cultivation.¹

The goals of this paper are to: (1) Outline the development of a theoretical framework for studying television-influenced social reality, or cultivation theory; and (2) review recent empirical studies which have articulated cultivation theory.

The Social Construction of Reality

In the most general sense, social reality is formed when information is given the same status as the direct observation of physical reality.²

Social constructions of reality refer to individuals' orientations toward the world, based partly on past experiences and actual observations, and partly on information individuals obtain from interpersonal channels or mass communication. These orientations also can be described in terms of individuals' frames of reference.³ McLeod and Chaffee define frames of reference as general "approaches" or "mental sets" toward situations which precede social interactions. In sum, social reality can be thought of as internalized, learned expectations derived from (1) past experiences, and from (2) information, such as that obtained from media exposure.

Critical and quantitative theory and research on the media's role in shaping constructions of social reality have been integrated by Adoni and Mane, who identify two approaches: (1) the social construction of reality as an important aspect of the relationship between culture and society, and (2) the social construction of reality as one type of media effect.⁴ They relate these two approaches to the historical cleavage between the European and American traditions of research on knowledge, culture, and communication. McLeod and Chaffee also address this distinction, noting that the American social-psychological approach and the European sociology of knowledge approach, although parallel, have met with little intellectual exchange.⁵

Adoni and Mane suggest that an individual's subjective social reality (internalized notions about the real world) is affected also by "zones of relevance," forming a continuum ranging from the "here and now" (e.g., the individual's immediate sphere of activity) to the "remote" (e.g., "public opinion" or "the social order").⁶ They contend that Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur's media-dependency theory is the link between the sociological theories of social reality and media studies of social reality.⁷

Methodological Considerations

Theories about the relationship between mass communication and individuals' constructions of social reality require three variables for meaningful empirical testing. The first variable is some quantitative measure of media exposure. The second variable is based on quantitative analysis of media content. The third variable is derived typically from self-reported attitudes reflecting respondents' perceptions about various facets of their environment, or their subjective social realities. And some studies include a fourth variable based on archival data reflecting aggregate, objective social reality, with which media content is compared.

Rosengren (cited in Adoni and Mane, 1984) identifies three main types of cultural indicators that are very close to the ones mentioned above: content analysis used in the examination of symbolic reality, survey studies that can provide indicators of subjective realities, and secondary data that can provide information on objective reality.⁸ McLeod and Chaffee suggest similar data requirements, noting that there must be some

assessment of an individual's frame of reference, a comparable assessment of the frames of reference of others within that individual's social system, and a correspondence between the two. They further identify three questions about social reality: What is it? Why do people accept it? How is it developed?⁹ In 1972, McLeod and Chaffee concluded that the least amount of research attention had been paid to the "how" question, or the communication-learning process. In 1987, the "how" question has become central to mass communication research.

Cultivation Theory

One idea about how mass communication influences individuals' constructions of social reality is George Gerbner's theory which he calls the cultivation of dominant image patterns.¹⁰ It is probably the most widely known reformulation of the television-viewing-and-aggression hypothesis of the 1970s.¹¹

Gerbner contends that television content is stereotypical and incongruent with the observable, measurable world. This position is based on comparisons between almost two decades of annual content analyses of prime-time network drama, and archival data such as crime statistics. Gerbner holds that the discrepancy between television content and the "real world" results in two sources of dissimilar information about the nature of the world. Which body of information guides an individual's orientation to the world depends on the amount of television to which that person exposes him or herself.

It may be clarifying at this point to examine Gerbner's definition of a media effect. He writes that "the 'effects' of communications are not primarily what they make us 'do' but what

they contribute to the meaning of all that is done--a more fundamental and ultimately more decisive process."¹² Gerbner and Gross contend that although they reject "opinion change" theories in favor of "cultivation" or "ritual" theories, ritual must be *learned*. They point out that people are born and grow up in a symbolic environment in which television cultivates stable images after some of its own patterns.¹³

Gerbner attributes cultivation to (1) the nature of television content (i.e., stereotypical and repetitive images that reflect conventional values, beliefs, and behaviors, and that are produced to the same set of market specifications), and (2) the nature of the television audience, whose members habitually view the medium's uniform content (i.e., they watch television, not programs).¹⁴ Gerbner links cultivation to the sheer amount of television consumed--the independent or predictor variable is "amount." But he also pays considerable attention to specific types of televised content, notably violence.

One implicit image said to be conveyed by violent content is that the world is a mean and scary place. This "social paranoia" idea is central to the cultivation hypothesis. An example of its manifestation is exaggerated estimations of the likelihood of crime victimization among "heavy" viewers of television (compared to "light" viewers).

Measurement

Operationally, Gerbner believes that for any existing group of individuals divided at the median on television use, the half that watches more television will tend to report that they perceive the world in ways that are consistent with televised

presentations (confirmed by content analyses of prime-time televised network drama). The half that watches less television will tend to report perceptions of reality as reflected in "real life" situations (confirmed by archival data such as crime statistics). Television is the agent that "cultivates" this inaccurate view of the world among heavy television users. Cultivation, therefore, is a television effects hypothesis. But until recently, there has been scant laboratory evidence in support of causality, regardless of how plausible a directional hypothesis may be.

The evolution, assumptions, and operationalizations of Gerbner's basic ideas are diagrammed in Figure 1.

Recent Research

Early cultivation analyses were primarily correlational studies limited to prime-time viewing. This literature has been reviewed by Hawkins and Pingree and Ogles.¹⁵

In several recent cultivation studies, television exposure has been manipulated in experimental settings. Moreover, the nature of exposure has become more content specific. The studies reviewed in the following pages include a wide range of operationalizations of cultivation theory. Some propose psychological explanations of the cultivation effect. Together these studies reflect current perspectives on the role of television-influenced construction of social reality.

One type of content that has been examined within the cultivation framework is the soap opera. Buerkel-Rothfuss and Mayes report cultivation effects associated with soap-opera viewing.¹⁶ Carveth and Alexander replicated Buerkel-Rothfuss'

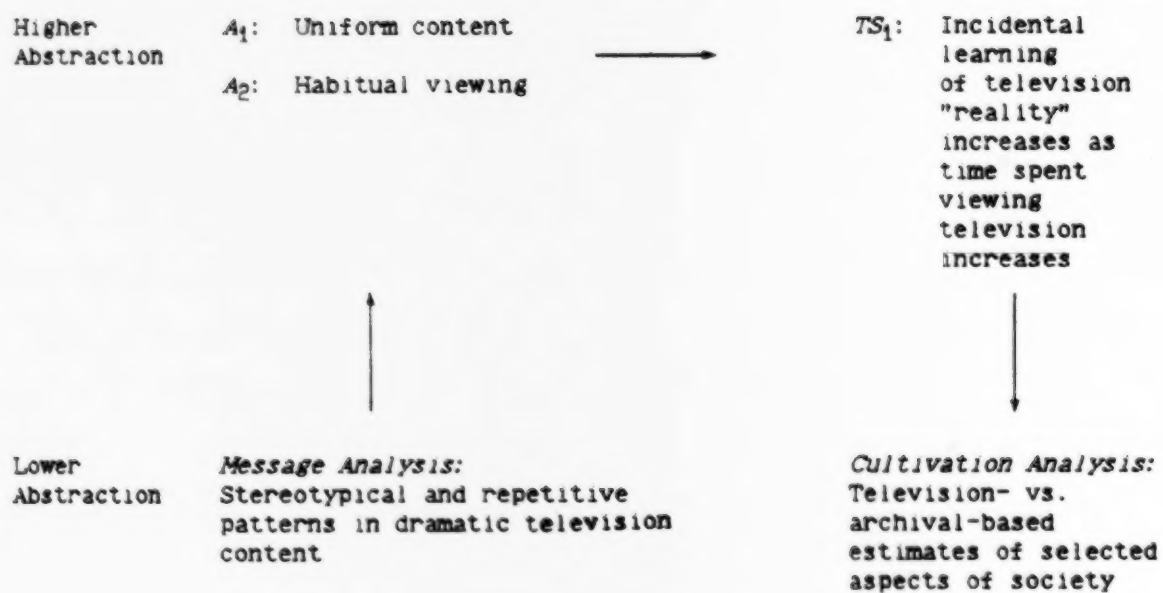


Figure 1. The development of cultivation theory.

Note. A stands for assumption, TS for theoretical statement.

findings, and suggest that motivations for viewing should be included as a predictor of cultivation.¹⁷ Based on the uses and gratifications perspective applied to television viewing by Rubin, their data indicate strongest cultivation effects associated with ritualistic viewing motivations (e.g., a gratification such as enjoyment) rather than instrumental viewing motivations such as character identification (i.e., viewers' relationship to soap opera characters).¹⁸

Rouner found that cultivation differences among adults, who are similar in cognitive processing abilities, may depend on whether they in fact process television messages actively, not merely whether they are capable of doing so.¹⁹ Based on Pingree, Starlett, and Hawkins' findings (cited in Rouner, 1984) that soap opera "fans" were less affected by soap opera content than general viewers, Rouner suggests that the low-involvement (i.e., ritualistic) viewing by general viewers, compared to more active (i.e., instrumental) viewing by fans, may lead to enhanced cultivation effects. Her empirical findings imply that active viewing may mitigate television's influence on constructions of social reality. But Perse found limited cultivation effects from instrumental, but not ritual soap opera viewing. More research is needed to resolve these apparently contradictory findings.²⁰

In an experimental investigation, Bryant, Carveth, and Brown examined the relationship between television viewing and anxiety.²¹ They found that subjects exposed to a heavy television diet of action-adventure programs in which transgressions went unpunished (injustice) displayed greater anxiety than subjects exposed to a heavy diet of programs depicting justice or subjects in a light-

viewing group. In addition, both heavy-viewing groups gave higher estimates of their likelihood of victimization than did a light-viewing group. The authors interpreted their data as support for Gerbner's basic cultivation hypothesis: Heavy viewing leads to fear of victimization.

Tamborini, Zillmann, and Bryant exposed male and female undergraduates to four experimental television conditions: justice-depicting, injustice-depicting, crime documentary, and an episode of *The Love Boat* which served as the control condition.²² The justice-depicting and injustice-depicting conditions were two differently edited versions of a movie made for television (*High Midnight*). Although the authors state that the crime documentary portrayed factual information about real-life social conditions dealing with crime, it was not clear whether these portrayals depicted justice or injustice.

Measures of anxiety and perceptions of crime were made immediately following exposure, and after a three-day delay. The results question the Bryant et al. cultivation interpretation.²³ First, subjects in the injustice condition were more anxious immediately following exposure, but the effect dissipated after a three-day delay. Second, perceptions of crime victimization after the three-day delay were higher only for the documentary condition. Although Tamborini et al. admit that television affects crime estimates, they reject a cultivation explanation of their findings, and those of Bryant et al., because the effects were short lived. But most viewers get a new dose of television each day. Hence their conclusion may not be warranted, since continual doses of television might result in a condition

remarkably similar to cultivation.

Wakshlag, Vial, and Tamborini manipulated subjects' apprehension by showing them either a crime documentary (apprehensive condition) or a National Geographic documentary (control condition).²⁴ They then allowed subjects to choose films to watch, from a list of films that varied in degree of depicted victimization and justice restoration. Subjects in the apprehensive condition chose films with less victimization and more justice restoration. These results partially support the cultivation hypothesis in that apprehension was induced by forced exposure to the crime documentary. But the authors caution that true cultivation must take into account the reasons subjects select certain media.

Wakshlag, Bart, Dudley, Groth, McCutcheon, and Rolla found that crime drama was particularly physiologically arousing to viewers who were more apprehensive about crime (compared to viewers who were less apprehensive), based on a median split of participants' responses to 12 "apprehension of victimization" items.²⁵ They hold that perhaps this enhanced excitement is all that is necessary for selective exposure to be pursued.

Weaver and Wakshlag divided survey respondents into three groups: those who had direct personal experience with crime (they had been victims), those who had interpersonal experience with crime (they knew someone who had been victimized), and those who had experienced crime exclusively via the media.²⁶ Correlations between crime-related television viewing and crime-related anxiety were significant only for respondents who reported that their experience with crime was limited to media

depictions. Furthermore, Gerbner's "resonance" reformulation is not supported by these data, since knowledge of a friend or relative who had been victimized did not amplify television's impact on respondents' perceptions of personal vulnerability.²⁷

Ogles and Hoffner exposed male participants to either two or five commercially released R-rated films over a one- or two-week period.²⁸ Compared to the two-film condition and a no-film control group (which did not differ), participants in the five-film condition reported significantly higher estimates of the likelihood of personal crime victimization. This finding is intriguing, since most (but not all) of the violence in the films was directed toward women. The authors suggest that the participants may have processed more deeply the events in which victims of violence were similar to themselves (i.e., men). Consistent with the availability heuristic, these scenes may have come to mind later more easily than violent scenes showing women as victims.²⁹

Another facet of cultivation research relates television content and viewers' perceptions of the reality of content. Potter extended three dimensions of perceived television reality (magic window, instruction, and identity) to the cultivation hypothesis.³⁰ He found positive correlations between respondents' beliefs in a mean and violent world and their (1) perceptions of television as a magic window on reality, (2) use of television for instruction, and (3) identification with characters on television.³¹

The Annenberg Group has conducted research into other aspects of media-influenced constructions of social reality.

Morgan conducted a secondary analysis of six General Social Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center between 1975 and 1983.³² Based on a sample of more than 9,000 respondents partitioned into nine geographical divisions, he reports that the outlooks of heavy viewers (compared to light viewers) were more similar. This pattern suggests that heavy television viewing may be associated with less diversity of regional culture.

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli suggest that television's impact on political orientations is not limited to news and political programming, but that heavy viewers (compared to light viewers) of television in general are more likely to label themselves "moderate" and avoid the labels "liberal" and "conservative."³³ They interpret this as a mainstreaming effect.³⁴ Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli also report that heavy viewers (compared to light viewers) are less likely to think of themselves as "working class" and more likely to say they are "middle class."³⁵ They refer to this as a blurring of class lines and a self-styled averaging of income differences, which, they warn, deters the development of working-class consciousness. This research was summarized in *TV Guide*.³⁶ In general, these ideas have been described as the cultivation of a new populism made up of heavy viewers who, according to Gerbner et al., call themselves moderate, but take positions that are conservative except on economic issues. "Hard-nosed commercial populism, with its mix of restrictive conservatism and pork-chop liberalism, is the paradoxical--and potentially volatile--contribution of television to political orientations."³⁷

Other phenomena are related to heavy television viewing. Wober and Gunter found overall positive correlations between television viewing and perceived risk of death from lightning, flooding, and terrorist bomb attacks, although these researchers favor a selective exposure interpretation for their findings.³⁸ For example, they contend that it is more parsimonious to argue that people who, for whatever reason, have a greater fear of flooding are those who watch more soap operas and other dramatic material. On the other hand, they contend that it would be difficult to argue that watching these programs makes people fear flooding, since flooding is not frequently portrayed on soap operas and televised drama.

In another study, Wober and Gunter found evidence indicating that respondents' locus of control may account for the cultivation of paranoid social perceptions.³⁹ When they partialled out the influence of internal-external control, the initial relationship between amount of television viewed and fear of victimization disappeared. These authors conclude that Gerbner's measures are less robustly related to viewing behavior than Rotter's questions.⁴⁰

Turning to televised news, Adoni, Cohen, and Mane examined three aspects of television news and their relationships to perceptions of social conflict.⁴¹ They assert that television news tends to (1) simplify conflicts by concentrating on events and not on processes leading to events, (2) intensify conflicts by presenting only the more intense moments of conflict, and (3) present conflicts as incidents soon to be resolved, rather than permanent clashes of interests. These researchers found that

Israeli adolescents were able to differentiate between social reality and television reality. Furthermore, the amount of exposure to television news was found to be unrelated to their abilities to make this differentiation. This conclusion is not consistent with Gerbner's findings for prime-time dramatic television programming.⁴²

This section concludes by providing a summary (Table 1) of recent studies on television and constructions of social reality that have direct bearing on the cultivation hypothesis. This summary is limited to research published since 1982. Hence, it is an extension of Hawkins and Pingree's review.

Directions for Future Research

The cultivation effect has been demonstrated in many basic studies representing a variety of samples, operationalizations, and methods. Moreover, the literature reflects multidisciplinary interest among numerous independent scholars. Although we know much about the conditions in which cultivation can be predicted to occur (from charting studies), we know less about why it occurs (i.e., processes and mechanisms). But this pattern may change as more researchers conduct experimental cultivation analyses (there is already some evidence of such a shift in methodological preference).

Likewise, recent developments, particularly new technologies coupled with broadcast deregulation, have relevant implications for cultivation analysis.⁴³ For example, a relaxation of technical standards allowing a proliferation of full- and low-powered television stations has eroded the penetration, appeal, and power of the networks during a period that roughly parallels

Table 1

Empirical Studies of Cultivation Published Since 1982

Sample	Author(s)	TV measure	Controls	Findings
NORC GSS, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1980 adults N = 6,020	Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli 1982	No. of hrs. watched on an average weekday	Sex, age, income, SES, religion, party affiliation, education	Heavy viewers call themselves moderate, but take positions that are conservative
Adolescents N = 313	Slater and Elliott 1982	Program log (checklist)	Grades, sex, perceived economic status	Perceived reality of law enforcement programs strongest cultivation predictor
ORC national sample, 1979 adults N = 5,762	Morgan 1983	Self-reported average viewing	Age, race, sex, social class, marital status	Subgroups on losing end of violence encounters more apprehensive
Undergraduate N = 84	Wakshlag, Vial, and Tamborini 1983	Experimental manipulation of apprehension	?	Short-term cultivation
NORC GSS 1975, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982, proprietary surveys; adolescents, adults N = 14,067	Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli 1984	Average daily viewing	Sex, race, income, age, education, occupational prestige, area of residence, church attendance, union membership, party affiliation	Heavy viewers more likely to present themselves as moderate, less likely to say they are liberal or conservative
Telephone interviews in Dane County, Wisconsin N = 147	Rouner 1984	Self-reported prime-time viewing, self-reported viewing involvement	Age, education	Active viewing may mediate cultivation
Undergraduate N = 115	Tamborini, Zillmann, and Bryant 1984	Experimental manipulation of justice/injustice portrayals	?	Data question Bryant, Carveth, & Brown (1981); no evidence of a cumulative cultivation effect

Table 1 cont'd

Sample	Author(s)	TV measure	Controls	Findings
Undergraduate N = 265	Carveth and Alexander 1985	Program checklist of soap opera viewing	Age, sex, semester standing, SAT, other viewing	Cultivation strongest when viewing is ritualistic rather than instrumental
IBA panel, London adults N = 414	Wober and Gunter 1985	Diary	Sex, age, social class	Selective exposure favored to account for curvilinear relationship between viewing and risks to life
NORC GSS, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1983, N = 9,479	Morgan 1986	Amount of viewing on an average day	Age, sex, education	Heavy viewing associated with less traditional regional diversity
Undergraduate N = 460	Perse 1986	Self-reported serial viewing of soap operas	Sex, race, GPA, class standing, nonserial television exposure	Cultivation associated with active viewing patterns, realistic portrayals not always perceived realistically
Undergraduate N = 92 adolescent N = 237	Potter 1986	Self-reported weekly viewing	Age, sex, race	Cultivation limited to respondents who believe television depictions are real (identify with characters, seek instruction)
Undergraduate N = 108	Weaver and Wakshlag 1986	Program checklist	Sex	Cultivation associated with viewing crime-related prime-time drama, but only for respondents with no direct crime experience (i.e., only mediated crime experience)
Undergraduate males N = 80	Ogles and Hoffner 1987	Experimental manipulation of film violence	Previous exposure to violent films	Comparatively more self-reported likeli- hood of victimization in high-dosage group

Mark Fowler's tenure as FCC chairman during the Reagan administration. During this same period, video recording and playback equipment has become affordable and commonplace in the home. Even though the increase in available channels and modes--although not necessarily resulting in increased diversity of programming choices--may be desirable, it is now much more difficult to adequately measure television viewing, a necessary component in cultivation analysis. Bryant also notes this change, referring to a shift from the traditional "television audience" to "video users."⁴⁴ The implications for media research are important.

It can be argued that this increase in signal choices enables a fairer test of the cultivation hypothesis. If, as Gerbner assumes, cultivation is partly due to stereotypical images that can be traced to the New York-California production process, it should not matter if these images are seen during prime-time or at the viewer's convenience. But his assumption of ritualistic viewing is not as easily accounted for. Any effort to record favorite programs for later viewing implies viewer motivation, not simply turning on the set and "watching television." Of course, selective exposure has always been confounded with ritualistic viewing. Many people make some effort to see some television programs at some times. At other times, they may see these programs in a ritualistic setting.

Although Hawkins and Pingree argue that Gerbner's assumptions are not essential to the cultivation hypothesis, the impact of the changing broadcast marketplace is evident.⁴⁵ And one implication is clear: It will become increasingly difficult

for social scientists to document cultivation effects. This limitation could become a burden to concerned parties and activist groups which use social scientific findings in attempts to influence policy makers.

In conclusion, this review has shown a recent trend toward laboratory studies of content-specific cultivation. This trend is desirable, since it has the potential of stimulating the testing of various explanations regarding *how* cultivation occurs. But although television has become very complex in the video age, more ecologically valid measures of television viewing must not be assumed impossible to obtain. Diary analysis is one way to measure television in the video age, although the procedure is very labor intensive. And ultimately the people meter may prove to be a viable alternative to diary analysis.⁴⁶ Regardless of methodological difficulties, continued research on television-influenced constructions of social reality is warranted considering the unquestionably significant role of television in modern society.

Footnotes

¹Examples are the debates between Gerbner and his colleagues and Paul Hirsch in *Communication Research*. See Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. A curious journey into the scary world of Paul Hirsch. *Communication Research*, 8: 39-72 (1981). See also Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. Final reply to Hirsch. *Communication Research*, 8: 259-280 (1981). See also Hirsch, P. M. The "scary world" of the nonviewer and other anomalies: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al.'s findings on cultivation analysis, part I. *Communication Research*, 7: 403-456 (1980). See also Hirsch, P. M. On not learning from one's own mistakes: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al.'s findings on cultivation analysis, part II. *Communication Research*, 8: 3-37 (1981).

²McLeod, J. M., & Chaffee, S. H. The construction of social reality. In J. T. Tedeschi (Ed.), *Social influence processes* (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1972).

³Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. *The social construction of reality* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1967).

⁴Adoni, H., & Mane, S. Media and the social construction of reality: Toward an integration of theory and research. *Communication Research*, 11: 323-340 (1984).

⁵McLeod and Chaffee, *op. cit.*

⁶Adoni and Mane, *op. cit.* p. 326.

⁷DeFleur, M. L., & Ball-Rokeach, S. *Theories of mass communication* (New York: Longman, 1982).

⁸Adoni and Mane, *op. cit.*

- ⁹McLeod and Chaffee, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰McQuail, D. *Mass communication theory: An introduction* (London: Sage, 1983).
- ¹¹Morgan, M. Symbolic victimization and real world fear. *Human Communication Research*, 9: 146-157 (1983).
- ¹²Gerbner, G. Cultural indicators: The third voice. In G. Gerbner, L. P. Gross, & W. H. Melody (Eds.), *Communications technology and social policy: Understanding the new "cultural revolution"* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973, p. 568).
- ¹³Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. Editorial response: A reply to Newcomb's "humanistic critique." *Communication Research*, 6: 223-230 (1979).
- ¹⁴Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Signorielli, N., Morgan, M., & Jackson-Beeck, M. The demonstration of power: Violence profile No. 10. *Journal of Communication*, 29: 177-196 (1979).
- ¹⁵See Hawkins, R. P. & Pingree, S. Television's influence on social reality. In National Institute of Mental Health, *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the eighties*. DHHS publication no. ADM 82-1195 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982). See also Ogles, R. M. *Media-influenced estimates of crime victimization: Three empirical investigations of the cultivation hypothesis* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987, pp. 21-69). In general, early studies reported a positive correlation between media exposure and research participants' estimates of the prevalence of crime in society. Fewer studies reported a positive correlation between media exposure and participants' estimates of personal crime

victimization.

¹⁶Buerkel-Rothfuss, N. L., & Mayes, S. Soap opera viewing: The cultivation effect. *Journal of Communication*, 31: 108-115 (1981).

¹⁷Carveth, R., & Alexander, A. Soap opera viewing motivations and the cultivation process. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 29: 259-273 (1985).

¹⁸See Rubin, A. M. Television uses and gratifications: The interactions of viewing patterns and motivations. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 27: 37-51 (1983).

¹⁹Rouner, D. Active television viewing and the cultivation hypothesis. *Journalism Quarterly*, 61: 168-174 (1984).

²⁰Perse, E. M. Soap opera viewing patterns of college students and cultivation. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 30: 175-193 (1986).

²¹Bryant, J., Carveth, R. A., & Brown, D. Television viewing and anxiety: An experimental examination. *Journal of Communication*, 31: 106-119 (1981).

²²Tamborini, R., Zillmann, D., & Bryant, J. Fear and victimization: Exposure to television and perceptions of crime and fear. In R. N. Bostrom (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 8* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984).

²³Bryant et al., *op. cit.*

²⁴Wakshlag, J., Vial, V., & Tamborini, R. Selecting crime drama and apprehension about crime. *Human Communication Research*, 10: 227-242 (1983).

²⁵Wakshlag, J. J., Bart, L., Dudley, J., Groth, G., McCutcheon, J., & Rolla, C. Viewer apprehension about victimization and crime drama programs. *Communication Research*, 10: 195-217 (1983).

²⁶Weaver, J., & Wakshlag, J. Perceived vulnerability to crime, criminal victimization experience, and television viewing. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 30: 141-158 (1986).

²⁷Resonance refers to situations in which objective reality and the reality associated with television converge, such as the heavy viewing of violent television content by persons residing in high-crime areas. When such conditions occur, individuals are said to get a "double dose" of messages which in turn enhances cultivation. See Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. The "mainstreaming" of America: Violence profile no. 11. *Journal of Communication*, 30: 10-29 (1980).

²⁸Ogles, R. M., & Hoffner, C. Film violence and perceptions of crime: The cultivation effect. In M. L. McLaughlin (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 10* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987).

²⁹Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. Availability: A heuristic for judging frequency and probability. *Cognitive Psychology*, 5: 207-232 (1973).

³⁰Potter, W. J. Perceived reality and the cultivation hypothesis. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 30: 159-174 (1986).

³¹Hawkins, R. P. The dimensional structure of children's perceptions of television reality. *Communication Research*, 4: 299-320 (1977).

³²Morgan, M. Television and the erosion of regional diversity. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 30: 123-139 (1986).

³³Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. Political correlates of television viewing. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48: 283-300 (1984).

³⁴Mainstreaming refers to a commonality of attitudes among heavy viewers of television in demographic groups whose light viewers hold divergent attitudes. The mainstreaming effect is a convergence of views among heavy viewers in various social subgroups. See Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1980, *op. cit.*

³⁵Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. Charting the mainstream: Television's contributions to political orientations. *Journal of Communication*, 32: 100-127 (1982).

³⁶Gerbner, G. Television makes strange bedfellows. *TV Guide*, 20-23 (1984, October 20).

³⁷Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1982, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁸Wober, M., & Gunter, B. Patterns of television viewing and perceptions of hazards to life. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 5: 99-108 (1985).

³⁹Wober, M., & Gunter, B. Television and personal threat: Fact or artifact? A British survey. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 21: 239-247 (1982).

⁴⁰See Rotter, J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal vs. external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 80: Whole no. 609 (1965). See also Rotter, J. B. A new scale

for the measurement of interpersonal trust. *Journal of Personality*, 35: 561-566 (1967).

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⁴²This study suggests parallels between the cultivation hypothesis and the agenda-setting function of the press as conceptualizations of media-influenced construction of social reality.

⁴³Ogles, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴Bryant, J. The road most traveled: Yet another cultivation critique. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 30: 231-235 (1986).

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⁴⁶Ogles, R. M., & Ogles, L. C. Television viewing and estimates of crime victimization: Exploring cultivation analysis in the video age. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal, May 1987.